1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

the land, allowing it to lie fallow for a year, provided they were able to live by gathering wild products. But if a widow had young children dependent on the crops, they would plant the season following (half a year later). On the owner's death they invited others to turn horses into his tract to clear it off as quickly as possible. If the crop was ripe the widow might tell relatives or neighbors to take it, "because while her husband was dying they had stayed night and day with her when they might have been planting for their own use." However should someone other than the male owner die, they might destroy the crops in this fashion, but usually not. This reinforces the conviction that title to the land was vested in men, but that all members of the family had some presumptive right to its use.

Two crops a year were obtained, as today by the white farmers of the Gila-Salt valleys, by planting in the early spring and again in midsummer. This biannual cropping system was coördinate with a biannual calendar, the series of month names opening with the planting of the first crop in early February and repeated with the second crop of late July or early August. Since the month names were also those of the sibs, there has derived a triple association of sib, month, and plant as totem. This does not imply that the association was historically primary with the Maricopa, since the lower Colorado tribes share it. Only one cultivated plant was so associated; corn with xavâtca'c sib, the other totem plants being wild. Xavâtca'c was the name given the lunation during which corn was planted: January–February and again July–August.

Corn was planted when the trees budded in early February, following the drying off of the floods of the preceding month which left the fields soft and moist. Pumpkins, beans, and black-eyed peas were planted at the same time, watermelons and cotton a month later. The beans and peas ripened about May, corn and watermelons in June, and pumpkins during the summer. A second crop of all these was obtained by planting again during July and the first half of August. Pumpkins and watermelons planted early in July and corn in early August would be ripe when the frost came in November. Cotton was planted in a sep-

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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CHAPTER VI

TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, COLORS, AND NUMBERS

ANNALS

211 805 [171] The Maricopa community was in possession of calendar sticks identical with those discovered by Russell among the Pima. Lumholtz discovered one, "the only one existing in the tribe," among the Papago near Tucson.[1] The Maricopa examples, bearing a series of notches like the other sticks, were no more than mnemonic devices: each notch represented the passage of a year, the owner being expected to remember the events of that year. A few additional scratches and dots interpolated between some of the year-marks helped indicate certain significant occurrences, but were so simple and non-pictorial as to give no clue to anyone else what the events may have been.

171 173 211 805 The years have been counted in this fashion "since the stars fell." Before that date (November 13, 1833) nothing of the sort was known. My informant believed the device invented by an old man of the Maricopa community. "At the meeting house an old man told the young people what happened each year. That is how it began. He decided he wanted the young people to remember." Nevertheless, there can be no doubt of their origin in common with the Pima records, identical in form and likewise beginning with the year of the meteoric shower. There is no certainty that even the Pima records are older than 1833. To be sure, Russell, after mentioning the five Pima sticks he located, and stating that the two explained to him began with 1833, writes: "There are traditions of older sticks that have been lost or buried with their keepers." This may mean that traditionally the records date from earlier times, but I would interpret it as no more than the statement I record below from the Maricopa, that sticks

[1] Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 34 f.; Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, p. 73.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 M715 River Yumans M715
Maricopa

other than those seen, not earlier records, had been destroyed. If there existed record sticks older than this date, it seems surprising that all the Maricopa and Pima examples known should date uniformly from this particular event. My conclusion is that all the sticks of both peoples were derived from a single prototype made after 1833. It may well be that the device merely represents in material form an older custom of reciting annals at village meetings. The solitary Papago example apparently began with 1842.

The time the stars fell is called xlom'ce'kwasß,[1], "stars fall." They said the stars rained all over the sky. Then no more stars could be seen for a while that night; then they reappeared. They never gave a reason for this. This was the only time it happened; fourteen years before I [Kutux] was born [the correct date: he was born in 1847 or 8].

Formerly several old people had these notched records, but they were burned when they died. One alone remains. There were no comparable records marked on skin nor knotted cords.

The solitary example remaining was in the hands of Maʔnyɨ'n an elderly man, whose father was Kaveitcadom and mother Kohuana. But the device is not assignable to either of these tribes: it was solely a product of the mixed Maricopa community. He began to keep the record in 1873–74, having learned the earlier annals from an old man of the other mixed Maricopa community at Lehi, near Mesa. His recollection of events was acknowledged to be good by Kutux, "but sometimes he makes mistakes and we have to correct him." He is training his sons to continue it, "but they don't pay attention." The stick itself is a store product, which he has had for some years and uses as a staff. (It is four feet long and an inch in diameter.) The notches, which are spaced about one-half inch apart, are little square pits, made with the knife-point, with every tenth year marked by a longer scratch through it. It begins with 1833. He makes each mark at the end of the year, i.e., in February. When I first broached the matter of inspecting his stick on February 7, 1930, he said he had

[1] All the old men know their ages exactly; a most astonishing fact for an illiterate people. The reason is obvious: they know the year of their birth as recorded on these sticks.

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kohuana

not yet added the mark for the year just passed; when I saw it on February 10, it included the 1929–30 mark.

The annals as he recited them follow. I was able to get from him no more than the events of the specially marked years.[1]

1838 The first Kohuana group came here [to the Gila].

1842 The Maricopa went to Yuma to fight.

1851 An old man [Bismarck] was born this year.

1857–58 The Yuma came to Sacate to fight. [This agrees with the date from Yuma, Mohave, and documentary sources.]

1859–60 The informant [Ma?ayI'a] was born.

1862–63 The first white man to have a store at Casa Blanca [Sweetwater] was captured by Texans. Soldiers came and fought near Tucson. [The reference is to Civil War episodes.]

1863–64 Made a peace treaty with the Yavapai.

1864–65 The Yavapai came down and stole horses; warfare started again.

1865–66 Some men here [including Kutux] were taken to Fort McDowell as scouts.

1869–70 The Maricopa left the Salt River opposite Phoenix and came here [in the Gila-Salt confluence].

[124] [1] His wife objected. After placating her, I persuaded him to let me photograph and sketch the stick, and wheedled the meanings of the specially marked years. But no persuasion would make him go counter to his wife's wishes and recount the whole systematically.

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

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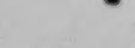
1871–72 The Pima fought among themselves.

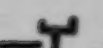
1873–74; 1874–75 The Yavapai were all captured. This year they killed all the Yavapai in the cave.[4]



1875–76 The Yavapai were concentrated at Fort McDowell.

1876–77 Halchidhoma at Sacate (?) lost a race to the Pima. [Russell, (*op. cit.*, p. 56) cites this "in the spring of 1877" as the first race between Pima and Gila Maricopa.]

1877–78 "About" fifty-two Maricopa and Pima went to the Mohave. Eclipse of the sun.[5]

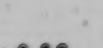


1878–79 Measles killed many children.

1879–80 (The special mark a mistake?)

1882–83 Raced with the kicking-ball against the Pima.

1883–84 Measles again.



1887–88 Earthquake.[6] Established the boundary of the present reservation.

[4] Russell gives the date of the slaughter in the cave as December 28, 1872 (*Pima Indians*, p. 54).

[5] Solar eclipse of July 29, 1878, visible as a marked partial eclipse in southern Arizona (Abbe, *Solar Eclipse of July, 1878*, p. 61).

[6] This is the earthquake of May 3, 1887 (Heck, *Earthquake History of the United States*, p. 51); this was "the only earthquake in southern Arizona in historic times, according to old timers in the district" (Hawley, *Prehistoric Pottery*, p. 549).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
:Maricopa

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1888–89 Another race with the Pima.

1889–90; 1890–91 Kicking-races with the Pima, won by the Maricopa each year.

1890–91 (No data.)

1893–94 Built the church here [near Laveen].

1896–97 Established the day-school here.

1899–1900 Snowed here for the first time that the informant knows; it lay four inches deep.

1918 Influenza epidemic that winter: many died.

1921–22 A man here murdered his wife.

1922–23 Made the big irrigation canal on the reservation boundary.

CALENDAR

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The Maricopa year began in late January or early February with the budding of the trees. In 1930 the owner of the calendar stick, as noted above, marked its beginning sometime between February 7th and 10th.

The year begins when the yellow blossoms appear on the cottonwoods (late January). The star xaaδδ' appears at this time [information from Last Star]. The year starts in the spring when the trees bud leaves (about the second or third week of February) [Kuton].

Four seasons of the year (mat'a'mk) were recognized: bink, spring; n,akâpi'], summer; iyo'rck, autumn; xatcu'nâk, winter.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

The days were known to vary in length, but the solstices were not watched for, nor were they even named. 805 [821]

Both informants interrogated (Last Star and Kutox) stated that twelve months were counted but that there were only six names, which were repeated. The calendar month (halya', month, moon) seems to have been the lunar month. Its exact duration was unknown, apparently a matter of no concern, and I could not elicit whether it included the dark phase of the moon. Kutox stated that the moon appears twelve times a year.

The calendar was associated, not only with the seasonal appearance of plants, but with the sibs, totems, and personal names. The names of the months were identical with those of sibs; the totemic plants were those gathered or planted during the month bearing the associated sib name; and the month name was said to "mean" corn and the like. Sib, month, and plant life formed a definite complex of associated ideas. Why sibs and months should bear the same names was a mystery to all informants. The association of months and plants was explained as ordained by the culture hero. 614 805 824

When Kukamat, the creator, died, people tried planting their seeds, but they did not know the right time. So they asked him to return. He said, "I do not know if you are strong enough to hear me." They all crowded into their one big house. When he came he spoke like thunder and they all fell asleep. All except Coyote, who tried to waken them. He told Coyote the proper time to plant and named the months so that he should know. Coyote told this to the people. [773]

The usual difficulty was encountered in attempting to get the month names and their order: "Don't remember; very long since anyone used the names." The two informants agreed on the time the year began, the identity with sib names of at least some of the month names, and the plant-associations. The last point of agreement is important because it offers the possibility of arranging the names to agree with the seasonal round and their nearest Gregorian equivalents as follows: 124 805

February and August.....'xavätca'c
March and September.....ɣamitu'tc (doubtfully)
April and October.....xipa'
May and November.....l,ɛu'c
June and December.....kümädi'
July and January.....mavïs or ɣamitu'tc

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Maricopa

The actual month order given by the informants was as follows:
805 *Kutex:* xavátca'c, xamitu'tc, macxipa's, xipa', kĭmaθi' (fifth or sixth month), another forgotten.
Last Star (1931): mavĭ's, kĭmaθi', xamitu'tc, xipa', l,ɛu'c, xavátca'c.
Last Star (1930): macxipa's, l,ɛu'c, xamitu'tc, xavátca'c, kĭmaθi', mavĭ's.

[115] It is doubtful that Kutex's macxipa's and xipa' are actually different months. Last Star found great difficulty in giving the month order in 1930. On October 7, 1931 he stated that the new moon of this date marked the beginning of the month xipa'. This would make his first month of the 1931 list (mavĭ's) January–July. His 1930 list, said to begin in February, would also indicate that mavĭ's was January–July. Kutex and Last Star (1930) agree that kĭmaθi' came toward the close of the count. They also agree on having xamitu'tc followed by xipa', and Last Star is consistent by having l,ɛu'c follow this.

221 805 Further information is available from their descriptions of the months. Last Star described them indirectly as follows:

l,ɛu'c people praise that month, saying it was good for every living creature; it warms them and brings green leaves on the trees.

xamitu'tc people praise that month, saying the trees have come to life again, stand up strong, ready to bear mesquite beans to feed everybody.

xavátca'c month is warm enough for plants to grow. They plant corn this month: because they are starving, they are glad to put in the seeds. It takes but four days for them to come up, hence they (xavátca'c people) would praise the plants.

kĭmaθi' is warm enough for [giant?] cactus to ripen. It is known for this.

mavĭ's is the month they can do nothing. They cannot plant: in July it is too hot and the insects eat the plants, while in December (called the "freezing month") it freezes.

macxipa's is a good planting month again.

Kutex described the months as follows:

xamitu'tc cimu'l [sib: *sic*] "means" mesquite. They gather mesquite in this month, by the end of which the beans are gone. [Discussion revealed he meant July.]

xavátca'c "means" corn. This the month they plant it [February and also August, when it was planted a second time].

xipa' "means" cholla cactus: the month these ripen is rainy [March or early April; September is rainy as well].

For kĭmaθi' and macxipa's, he could assign neither meaning nor time.

These ascriptions allow the identification of xavátca'c as the first month, when corn was planted. This was done in early February and early August. Cholla cactus and rain (both totems of xipa' sib) fix xipa' as March or April and September or October. Kĭmaθi' is almost certainly June when giant cactus fruit were gathered; both ocatilla (i'kĭmaθi'; i'i, wood) and giant cactus were totems of kĭmaθi'. L,ɛu'c must be a period in the spring. There is difficulty with xamitu'tc: Kutex's definite statement that mesquite was then gathered fits July–August well enough, but placing it early in his list agrees rather with Last Star's description of what seems to be a spring month and with Last Star's order. Again as July–August or December–January, it conflicts with mavĭ's. Macxipa's is wholly uncertain, unless as a planting month it was synonymous with xavátca'c.

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There is just the possibility that macripa's and mavi'a are from the calendric system of some other Yuman tribe confused in this mixed community with Maricopa nomenclature. [805 221]

Shorter intervals were indicated by counting nights, not days as we would, or by the moon's phase. The time for a dance, e.g., was fixed by saying, "You sleep four (or whatever) nights and on the fourth day come." Or they would say, "We will have our dance when it is full moon—or when the moon just appears." Neither knotted cords nor notched sticks were used for the purpose. [241]

The intervals of the night were also indicated. The night was supposed to be divided into four parts, significant for dream experiences. The first and last quarter were productive of evil dreams; the second and possibly the third were the favorable quarters. These parts were named n,axa'vŏk, "went down," evening; tinyĭ'mko'xŭm, "night (black)old," middle of the night; xacipa'nĭk, "nearing," before dawn; kwăliyo'ŭg, dawn. [805 828] [192]

CONSTELLATIONS AND NATURAL PHENOMENA

Maricopa star lore was inconsiderable. The major constellations, known also to other Yumans, were recognized, but equally obvious ones, such as Cassiopeia and Gemini, had no names. A few trivial tales were associated with the star clusters, but the esoteric values attached to them in southern California were unknown here. [821 171] [538]

For four, possibly five, of the six stars mentioned below, the significant position was dawn rising, not as is our customary mode of reference, evening ascension. Four of them were observed in autumn or winter.

The general cosmogonic notion was that there was a duplicate of this world above the sky. This was not the land of the dead, which lay in the west. It functioned in the myths and provided an explanation for the movement of the sun, but otherwise had no particular bearing on affairs of our world. [772] [775] [773] [821]

It is said that far above the sky is a place exactly like this world. There are people there doing the same things as here, and all the stars we see here are du-

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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772 821 plicated there. Our earth and sky are moving, so that from time to time there is an opening at the horizon. When the sun sets it goes through this gap. Then it rises in the world above and moves eastward to set. Then, coming through the gap once more, it rises again for us in the east.

821 The phases of the moon were named as follows: new moon, hapa'm; first quarter, tâ·alg; half moon, tĭnyakâ·ĭ'g (tĭnyă'm, dark; kâ·ĭg, come here); full moon, ĭnyămuyo'vĭg, lit. "[the moon] looks at the sun"; a somewhat uncertain name for the last quarter, pulnyupai', "disappearing"; the dark phase, tinyă'm, lit. "dark." Kutox, the informant, uniformly referred to these phases not by the appearance of the moon, but as it was opposed to or near the sun.

[773] Two fragments of tales were related about the moon. Coyote wanted to marry the moon, a woman, but she refused. He went close to the moon, crying as hard as he could, opening his mouth wide. (This had no connection with an eclipse.) Another story has to do with Coyote stealing something. He tried to jump over the moon, and there he is.

805 821 The appearance of the constellations in the heavens was integrated in part with the calendar. "The stars (xomace') change in the different seasons, so people will know when plants are ripe, especially the morning star." The significance of the last part of this statement is obscure, unless it implies that they recognized the variations in the time of rising of the planets that are the morning star. "They went for giant cactus fruit in the summer [mid-June] when the Pleiades (xĭtca') appear on the eastern [773] horizon [in the evening]." There was no tale about the Pleiades. When the constellation tcisall'c or cipa'isani's (Cipa's, the culture hero's, hand or fingers; ical, "hand")[1] barely appears above the eastern horizon at early dawn, "they say the crops will first be frozen [December]." When it is well up at early dawn, it is freezing weather. This may be the cluster about Arcturus or the Corona.

821 The stars of Orion were collectively amŏ's, "mountain sheep," which "comes up in the evening in early fall." The three stars of the Belt were recognized: the highest was a deer, the middle one a mountain sheep, the lowest an antelope. The associated [773] tale was of a hunter who picked as his favorite food the mountain

[1] The Creation Tale tells how his finger marks were made in the sky.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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821 spectively xuk'ðs and xuxð'v[4]). People say the thunder strikes, not the lightning. They cry out to children, "Come into the house! The thunder will split you in two." Arrowheads (presumably those found in ruins) were dangerous for one to carry about; the thunder would be sure to strike him. They did not go close to a lightning-struck tree nor burn its wood: it would make them sick. Thunder was not associated with war by the Maricopa.

[713] Men who dream of it say thunder and lightning have the form of human beings. One of them wears red clothing; the other is naked except for a skin around his loins. The latter carried a bow and arrow in his hands all the time. He has long bushy hair hanging over his shoulders. The man with red clothing does nothing but stand with arms folded: in talking to the other, he stretches his arms out, which makes the lightning. The one with the bow shoots at the same time: that is thunder.

What clouds are made of was not known, but "they come in the form of human beings";[5] a fundamental belief in the Pueblos. [171] The Maricopa held that the Yavapai told the clouds to go to some spot in the Gila valley, so that it would cease raining where they lived.

The appearance of a rainbow (kwalice'rc) indicated the end of rain. A halo or corona seen around the moon (xal,ɨ'c kanau'kam, "moon's ring") was not regarded as significant.

The whirlwind was a ghost, that is, one of the several souls each person had.

825 Little bees seen making holes in the ground was regarded as a
● 805 sign of approaching spring.

DIRECTIONS, COLORS, AND NUMBERS

823 Six directions were named: the four cardinal points, zenith, and nadir.

Inya'capa'k or Inya'djapa'k, "sun's rising place," or Inya', "sun," east
matxa'vig, matxa'k, north
kave', give' or Inyaxa'pk, "sun went that way," west
xaaa i'l, south (lit. "salty water")
amai', up (lit. "sky")
ama't, down (lit. "earth")

The term In,uxa'va or In,uxa'p was volunteered for northwest, but this is palpably the term for west.

[5] The tale "Cloud and Wind" was told to exemplify this belief.

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bris thrown inside by children, for they were not forbidden to play there. The fire was kept blazing during the meeting with the door closed, so that they would sweat. A pile of wood was stacked within the doorway on the south side for the convenience of the fire tender (autura'k), an old man who alone had the duty of feeding the fire.

As evening came on, the chief would stand in the open to call the men to the meeting: "they might have something to discuss." He advised them to bring enough tobacco, so that the unprovided would not lack it. Meetings always began by smoking privately, not passing their lighted cigarettes around. Two or three were selected to do all the talking (whether orators who had dreamed or others is not clear). In the early evening they discussed "things like crops." Toward the middle of the night arrangements would be made for hunting. Warfare was discussed. (Young men were not supposed to go off on unauthorized raids, but if they did, they were nevertheless praised.) Talking would continue until the appearance of the morning star, which was taken as the signal to break up. They did not think it proper to leave early in the night: if topics were exhausted they sang until this star rose. No one was allowed to sleep, because the older men were delivering admonitions and advice to their juniors; telling them not to gamble, to treat their wives well, not to beg even though starving, not to be lazy, and the like. Anyone who slept was sent out. There were no guards at the door.

Such formal division of the night was a characteristic Maricopa pattern. Not only did it appear in the framework of dreamed experiences with spirits, but their actual sleeping habits were made to conform. Children were kept awake during the first part of the night and roused early before dawn to avoid dreaming during these ill-starred quarters of the night. Shamans, at least when working over a dying patient, abruptly changed their songs with the passage of the night's divisions. The night was supposed to be divided into quarters, but none of the experiences and practices cited to me conformed literally to this fourfold pattern. Here the meeting is described as of three parts: indifferent evening, deep night with its more serious problems, and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

646 pre-dawn. It may be that the conduct of the meeting followed
● 805 the four-fold pattern, but it is far more likely that it existed only in native ideology.

345 The meeting house was in effect a men's club house and sweat house like those of California and the Pueblos, and, unlike the central Californian forms, not a dance house. The distinction is that it was not normally a men's dormitory: only in stormy weather, when an enemy attack was predicted, everyone in the village slept in it for safety.

WARFARE

FREQUENCY AND ORGANIZATION

721 Warfare occupied an unusually large place in the minds of the
[181] Maricopa for a people who by temperament were essentially mild-tempered and sedentary. They maintain that it was forced on them by raids of Yuma and Yavapai which had to be met or anticipated. While this seems much like the usual disavowal of aggression that can be heard from any of our western Indians, in this case I believe it to be true. No great premium attached to the man with a war record: the war leader was held in high regard, but the ordinary man who took a scalp or captive was not socially exceptional. Maricopa weighted dream experiences far beyond exploits of war. Nevertheless they talked a good deal of war, took pleasure in planning it, and brought up their sons to look forward to it.

The Halchidhoma situation was much the same, with this difference; that while they were still on the Colorado, they were caught between Yuma and Mohave, who hammered away at them with repeated attacks. While they were by no means supine and did counterattack, they had everything to lose by aggression. In the end, they lost their foothold on the river and fled into Mexico.

Both tribes shared unremitting warfare with Yuma, Mohave,
648 Yavapai, and Western Apache. At least after their joint settle-
721 ment on the middle Gila, this meant especially the Yuma and Yavapai, the nearer of the four. The Yuma were joined by Mohave and Yavapai, the Yavapai by Apache, for descent on the

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

their children are not placeable. The bastard origin of one woman can never be forgotten, since she belongs to no sib, her Indian father being unknown. I do not know how the matter came to be resolved in the case of several individuals known to be descendants of white men, but they have sib affiliation. On the other hand, all the known members of the Halchidhoma sib kwĭtk,ĭl,ᴬ are derived from a remote Walapai ancestor. They do not know how he came to be called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᴬ, but presume that the Walapai must have sibs, which is not the case.[37] They would be distinctly nonplussed if their women married men of a matrilineally organized tribe, such as the Apache or Southeastern Yavapai, but no such marriages have occurred, since these were mortal enemies. There is a recent instance, however; a marriage of a Maricopa girl to a Hopi man, now resident in nearby Phoenix. The girl's family, with whom I discussed the case, looked upon the placing of their two infants as an unsolvable problem.

Lists of sibs (cimu'l) of the several local tribes were obtained from several individuals. They were not always in agreement as to the tribal origin of particular sibs: the most probable ascription appears in the following list (Table IV). There may have been other sibs among the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai before they joined the Maricopa. But it is improbable: since the migration occurred only in the generation preceding that of my older informants, other sibs would have been remembered.

Some of the ascriptions are certain: Halchidhoma, kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ą; Kohuana, cĭnyikwĭ's and xĭlyi'; Halyikwamai, tŏxpa's; Yuma, cŭkąpa's; Halchidhoma and Kohuana, cĭkąma'; Kohuana and Halyikwamai, sala'l. It was thought probable that Halchidhoma kwŭc⁴ku' and l,ąmu'c were derived from the Kohuana. There is some doubt that the Halchidhoma originally had the sibs they share with the Maricopa, but the probability is high. Maricopa mavĭ's is extinct or may never have existed as a sib. (It is one of the month names.) My informants had never heard of anyone locally with this sib affiliation, but one man knew it as a Yuma sib. Yuma cŭkąpa's and Pima l,ɛw'c and xipa', given in this list, refer to individuals of immediate Yuma and Pima descent.

Some of the Maricopa and Halchidhoma sib names were the same as the six month names. This, incidentally, makes it more certain that both peoples had the same sibs, as they seem to have

[37] There is a Mohave sib kutkilya with which he may have been affiliated (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 742).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

had the same calendar. These months are xavâtca'c, xamitu'tc, and kŭmâði'. Other month names were doubtfully the same as sibs: Last Star added l,ɛw'c and mavĭ's as month names, Kutox added xipa'. Both gave macxipa's as the name of a month, but Last Star maintained that this corresponded to the sib name

TABLE IV

SIBS

Maricopa*	Halchidhoma	Kohuana	Halyikwamai	Pima	Yuma
l,ɛw'c.....	l,ɛw'c	.....	.....	l,ɛw'c	.....
xipa'.....	xipa'	.....	.....	xipa'	.....
xavâtca'c....	xavâtca'c	.....	.....	.....	.....
xamitu'tc....	xamitu'tc	.....	.....	.....	.....
kŭmâði'.....	kŭmâði'	.....	.....	.....	.....
pakĭ't.....	pakĭ't	.....	.....	.....	.....
	cĭkâma'	cĭkâma'	.....	.....	.....
	kwŭc⁴ku'	kwŭc⁴ku'	.....	.....	.....
	l,âmu'c	l,âmu'c	.....	.....	.....
		cĭnyikwĭ's	.....	.....	.....
		sala'l	sala'l	.....	.....
mavĭ's (?)...	.....	.....	.....	.....	mavĭ's
	kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a]	.....	.....	.....	.....
		xĭlyi'	.....	.....	.....
			tŏxpa's	.....	.....
					cŭkâpa's

* Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 742) gives a list of sibs purporting to be Maricopa, but it is palpable that these refer to the several Maricopa-speaking tribes now forming the joint community. Kwaku is evidently Halchidhoma and Kohuana kwŭc⁴ku'. Kaila, sand, does not occur in any of my lists. The following sibs among the "Maricopa from the Cocopa," which Kroeber interprets to mean the Kohuana, do not occur in my list of local Kohuana sibs: halpot, a bush; kwutkil, any yellow animal; mave, rattlesnake; kwinis, deer; hutpas, sedge (see also Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, pp. 158 f.). Of these, only one (kwutkil) is known locally. It may be that these Kohuana sibs exist among remnants of this tribe elsewhere.

xipa'. The significant point is that both felt that the sib system was in direct relation to the calendar round. The plants that are cultivated, or which ripen in a certain month, are the totems of the sib having that month name. Thus, corn is planted in the two months named xavâtca'c (February and August); xamitu'tc is the month for gathering mesquite; cholla cactus ripens in xipa' and the giant cactus in kŭmâði'; xipa' months (April and September) are also the months of rain. Corn, mesquite, cholla, suhuaro, and rain are all totems of the correspondingly named sibs.